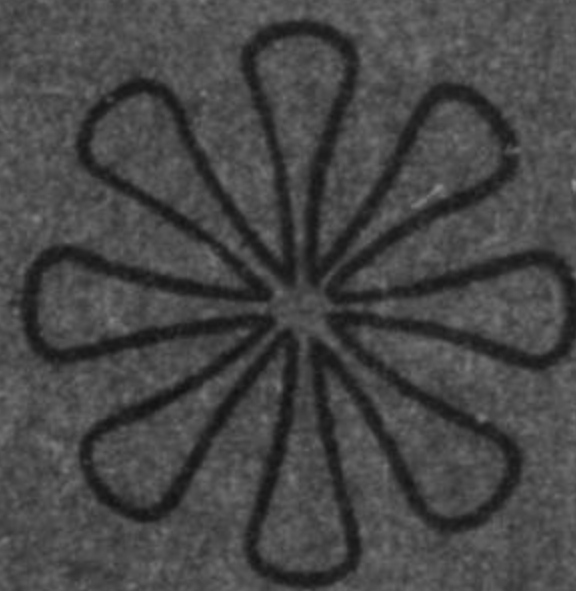


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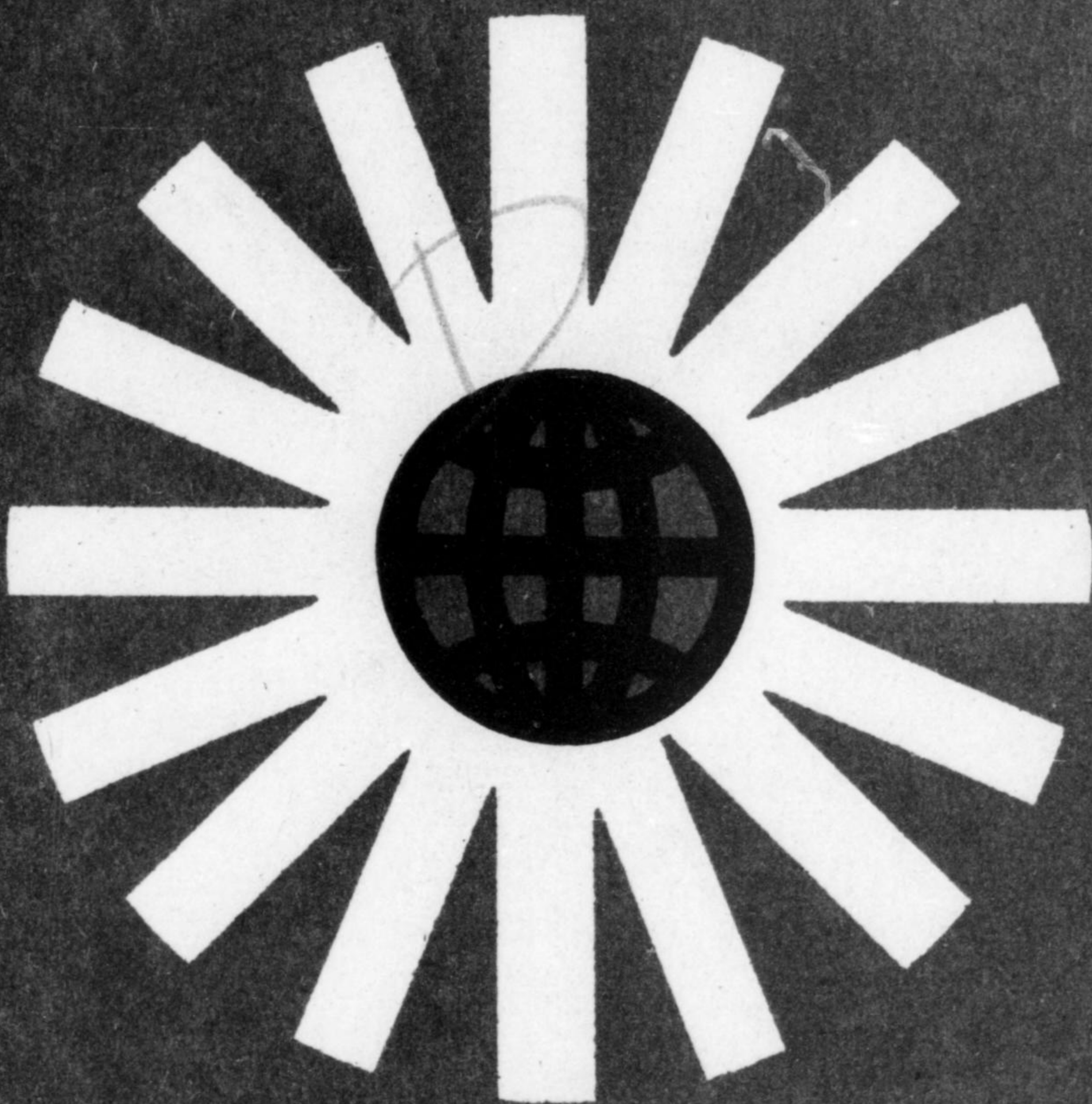
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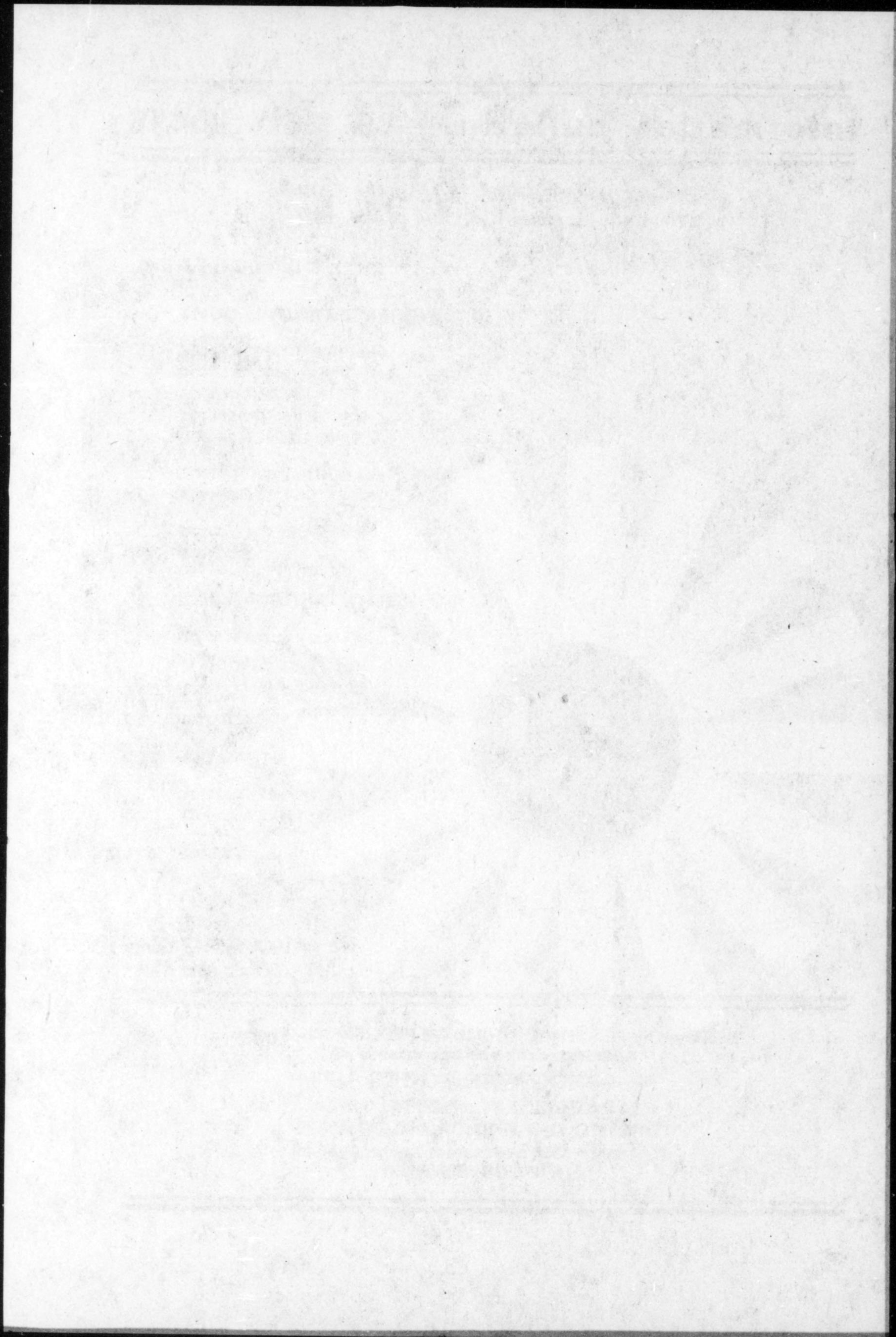
**BAN THE
NEUTRON
BOMB**

**THE HORN
OF AFRICA**

9

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CONGRESSES AND PLENUMS

RESULTS OF CARRYING OUT THE DECISIONS OF THE 15TH CPCz CONGRESS AND FURTHER MEASURES FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

*Report of the Presidium, CC CPCz, Submitted to the Meeting
of the CC CPCz by Gustav Husak March 15, 1978*

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia submits to the Central Committee a summary of the results achieved since the 15th Party Congress. It also indicates the problems and shortcomings encountered in the broad effort toward implementing the congress line and the ways of dealing with them.

Our people see for themselves day after day that the program adopted by the congress responds to our needs and corresponds to our possibilities, expresses the people's aspirations, and guarantees dynamic economic, scientific and technological progress, social security, and the well-being and happiness of the working man.

It is a program aimed at strengthening our socialist system and statehood, extending the power of our working people and furthering the unity of our nations and members of other nationalities, a program for extensive socialist democracy and for humanism. One of its component objectives is to increase the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party and strengthening the positions and influence of Marxism-Leninism, of our communist ideals, which inspire our life more and more, winning people's minds and influencing the formation of the new, socialist man.

It is a program of durable friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, with all fraternal socialist countries. It proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism, of solidarity with progressive, anti-imperialist forces all over the world. It is a program of struggle for world peace and security. It offers the Czechoslovak

Socialist Republic reliable guarantees of peaceful development, freedom and independence . . .

Our whole party, the government and other government bodies concentrate on implementing the party's economic policy, on fulfilling the tasks set by the sixth five-year plan . . .

Sustained everyday effort to advance the economy bears good fruit. We are making headway, successfully fulfilling on the whole the tasks set . . .

The social product increased in two years by 8.6 per cent. The national income showed a somewhat bigger increase — 8.8 per cent. Nevertheless, its growth was smaller than envisaged by the five-year plan.

Consumption in the production sphere over the past two years grew more slowly than the social product, a trend we owe to thrifty use of materials. And while not all plan targets were reached, this favorable trend made for a higher national income. As much as 95 per cent of the increase in the national income was achieved through higher productivity of social labor.

In industrial production, we reached in the main the targets set by the sixth five-year plan. We exceeded by 0.3 per cent the plan target of increasing output by 11.2 per cent. An estimated 86 per cent of the overall growth of the total industrial output of 58,000 million crowns was achieved through more productive labor.

The miners supplied 2.9 million tons of coal and lignite over and above the assignment for the first two years of the sixth five-year plan. This made it possible to generate 12.3 per cent more heat and electricity . . .

Mechanical engineering increased output by 17.3 per cent . . . In the chemical industry, whose output grew by nearly 16 per cent, oil processing and production of petrochemicals, of synthetic fibers and paints, grew fastest of all. Consumer goods production increased by 8.7 per cent. A further positive development was that we achieved a higher than average growth rate in the industries using domestic raw materials . . .

In agriculture we were able to cope with the effects of the 1976 drought and resume dynamic production growth. Last year we achieved the all-time record level of agricultural production — its worth topped 80,000m. crowns. According to final data, we harvested 10.3 million tons of grain — an average of 0.38 ton per hectare.

The market was supplied with 36,000 tons more meat, meat pro-

ducts and poultry and 3,000 tons more butter than in the previous year.

Further headway was made in industrializing agriculture and increasing the intensive agricultural production. Our agricultural cooperatives and state farms become stronger.

Our society allocates nearly one-third of the national income for capital construction. Investments in this field over the past two years totalled 271,000m. crowns.

We are now more efficient than before in concentrating resources on major building projects.

The more rapid development of the production sphere in Slovakia is conducive to still closer links between the two national republics and the equalization of their economic levels.

With the aid of all regions we are continuing to build and reconstruct Prague as a model socialist city.

We consider it equally important that we also continued concentrating building capacities on other sides of intensive construction, on Bratislava and the North Bohemian Region.

Foreign trade growth was nearly nine points higher than planned, with exports showing a greater growth rate.

The significance of economic, scientific and technological cooperation with CMEA countries, of socialist economic integration, was confirmed again and increased still more.

The Soviet Union, which accounts for one-third of our overall foreign trade, holds a key place, a place of vital importance, in these relations. In addition to high-standard and up-to-date machinery and plant, the Soviet Union accounts for 92.6 per cent of the oil, 99.9 per cent of the gas, 83.5 per cent of the iron ore and 58.2 per cent of the cotton we import.

In accordance with the congress guidelines and the policy of peaceful coexistence, we have been developing economic cooperation with non-socialist countries. Trade with them increased by roughly 20 per cent in spite of the well-known difficulties.

We must actively eliminate the adverse effects of the rapid increase in the prices of raw and other materials, fuel and foodstuffs on the capitalist market. In November 1974 the CC CPCz approved an explicit guideline intended to deal with the situation through active measures in the production sphere, without affecting the people's standard of living. We can now put it on record that we are on the whole solving these complicated problems.

The standard of living goes on rising and this in more complicated conditions than we expected in launching the sixth five-year plan. This is a further proof of the strength and potentialities of our socialist system.

The population's cash incomes have been growing essentially as planned and have gone up by 28,500m. crowns, or 9.8 per cent, since the plan was launched. In 1977 monthly pay averaged 2,444 crowns, that is, was 140 crowns higher than in 1975. Income from social insurance funds in 1977 amounted to 60,700m. crowns, or was 6,600m. crowns higher than in 1975.

Retail trade increased by 17,000m. crowns, or 7.9 per cent, in two years, and the amount of paid services, by 9.9 per cent. Food sales went up 7.4 per cent. Annual meat consumption exceeded 81 kg per capita and showed a more than nine kg increase over 1970. Milk and eggs consumption is greater than envisaged by the sixth five-year plan.

Manufactured goods sales, especially in the case of durables, is growing faster than those of food products . . . Our working people's households are well equipped with appliances and gadgets, comparable to what the most industrially developed countries have achieved.

We built 266,000 new flats for more than 800,000 people. The rate of housing construction per 1,000 inhabitants as well as the quality of new housing place us among the world's most advanced countries.

The standard of health care and communal services is rising. We are building more schools, cultural establishments and kindergartens.

The progress made in education, health care, culture, communal and other services is exemplified by the fact that in the period under review budget appropriations for social purposes increased by 12.4 per cent. In this sphere the state spends as much as 7,100 crowns a year per inhabitant. Various enterprises, for their part, allocate substantial sums for these purposes . . .

This favorable trend and confidence in the solidity of social and other guarantees put their imprint on the overall social climate. Surely one of its indications is that 569,000 children were born in the past two years, or 80,000 more than in the first two years of the previous five-year plan, and that last year we welcomed our 15 millionth citizen . . .

The general development of our society in the first two years of the sixth five-year plan confirmed the correctness and viability of the social and economic policy adopted by the 15th Party Congress. The

economy as a whole is developing smoothly and at a relatively fast pace although we have yet to achieve the expected dynamic growth rate in some fields.

We have not tried to solve our problems to the detriment of the working people. Our principle is to use internal resources, raise the efficiency and quality of all work and make the whole economy more productive.

Our socialist method of solving fundamental problems of economic development contrasts in substance with the manner in which the capitalist countries are now wrestling with their difficulties. Whereas we systematically and dynamically develop the productive forces, raise the standard of living and promote people's social security, the capitalist economy is still in crisis and is plagued by widespread unemployment, especially among young people, with numerous working people despairing of their social future.

The line of raising the efficiency and quality of all work and of using intensive economic growth factors adopted by the 15th Congress remains the reliable road of our development. We must implement it more vigorously and consistently than we have done so far.

At the 15th Congress we said that with due regard to the goals set by the sixth five-year plan, we must speed scientific and technological progress and increase its role in the economy. This is the fundamental prerequisite of raising the efficiency of the entire economy and assuring its dynamic growth.

We must achieve a rapid and substantial improvement in the technical standards and quality of our products. This will determine our competitive capacity on the foreign market and, in equal measure, our ability to meet our own requirements.

Gustav Husak went on to speak about the tasks facing industry, agriculture and the economy as a whole. In particular, he stressed that this year producers are faced with a big task — they must supply nearly 245m. crowns' worth of goods, or about six per cent more than last year.

A fundamental requisite of advancing the entire economy is to solve the problem of the fuel and energy complex, to work for the greatest possible increase in fuels and electricity by drawing on our own resources. First of all it concerns lignite, particularly in the North Bohemian coal basin. It is all the more important to do preparatory work in time and to build new mines and quarries without delay. We must steadfastly carry out overhaul and repair work on boilers and turbogenerators and modernize them, shorten time of repairs, raise

the stability of operation of power plants, and provide new capacities, especially in Dalesice, Melnik, Prunerov and the Bohunice nuclear power plant.

To solve the problem, radically, we must make greater use of nuclear energy.

We expect that between now and 1984 we will put in operation new nuclear power capacities approximating to 3,500 megawatts. This is an important if complicated task.

Agriculture has a big role to play in the achievement of our goals, particularly with regard to the standard of living. We must continue to pay special attention to grain production and to technical crops. A priority demand in agriculture as well is to strive for high efficiency, as the 15th Party Congress stressed . . .

At this stage we must, first of all, stabilize the stock of lands held by agricultural enterprises, strengthen their economic foundations, promote specialization and various forms of cooperation between enterprises, and perfect organization and management inside the enterprises.

Speaking of tasks in management, planning and organizing activity, Gustav Husak pointed out that the decisive problem in this field is to perfect the whole planning process, to make it more comprehensive, balanced and long-range.

We must work out a system of norms and standards governing consumption and the supply of raw and other materials and finished products as a part of the measures we carry out.

The Central Committee Presidium has taken appropriate steps to enable party bodies and government agencies to discuss in this year the first draft targets and more important development lines for the economy between 1981 and 1985 and in the long term. To this end we must decide on the pivotal objectives of economic and social policy after 1980 and draft the seventh five-year plan accordingly. This is a highly important political task, a task of the first importance. The governments, planning commissions and ministries must give it the greatest attention.

Fulfillment of plan assignments depends chiefly on the managing and organizing activity of leading executives, a responsible approach and proper discipline in every field of economy. Even the most perfect system of planned management cannot function automatically. The effect of its application in various economic units, work teams and specific situations hinges on the leading workers' creativity and

initiative. It follows that leading workers hold a position of exceptional responsibility and must realize more than ever that an important part of their political and moral responsibility is to harmonize the interests of society as a whole with the particular interests of the organizations they head.

Our economic growth over the past two years has shown that we are not marking time but have made noteworthy headway, that we are advancing to the goals we have set.

We are realistic-minded people. We know very well that there is no such thing as life without problems or difficulties. The greatest difficulties, however, would confront us if we overlooked, bypassed or ignored existing problems, if we refused to solve them. Communists cannot shut their eyes to problems, retreat before them or evade them.

Annual meetings and conferences of the party membership demonstrated our party's solid ideological and organizational unity and unity of action. They expressed full support for the line of the 15th Congress, for the Central Committee of the CPCz and its policy.

The working people's confidence in our party has grown. We owe this to the fact that the party has drawn lessons from the crisis period of development, consolidated its ranks, restored and strengthened its unity, and is advancing firmly along the Leninist path.

People recognize us communists not by words alone, but primarily by deeds.

The struggle for the goals of the socialist revolution is a protracted and exceedingly complicated process which begins with the assumption of power by the working class. Each new stage makes new demands and sets still more exacting tasks. It is not only at the beginning of socialist construction that a revolutionary spirit and devotion is needed.

Even now that we are building a developed socialist society, we are accomplishing truly revolutionary tasks. One of them is scientific and technological progress.

Closely linked with this is the task of raising the quality of work, increasing efficiency and thrift. Under socialism, with the means of production belonging to society, it is essential to manage the economy wisely and efficiently and not to waste raw and other materials or people's effort and time. The growing wealth of our society should serve to meet its requirements to an increasing extent, and this depends not only on the amount of resources available, but also on their judicious and effective use.

This makes it indispensable daily to improve every aspect of the party's manifold activities, its inner life and its influence over the working people, and to strengthen its leading role. This is not to say that party branches, district and regional committees and the Central Committee should take over the functions of government agencies and economic bodies. On the contrary, they must use working methods and a system of labor division making the responsibility of government agencies and economic bodies for the tasks assigned to them perfectly obvious. To replace government agencies, economic bodies and mass organizations is to restrict their responsibility, breed apathy and encourage opportunism in practice. This means that we must be more exacting as regards the party's political and organizing activity in every field.

It is important to ensure that every party member fully commits himself to and takes an active and creative part in the shaping and implementation of party policy, to work systematically among the people, to assign communists specific tasks and check on their fulfillment.

The efficiency of the party committees and organizations is conditioned by the level of inner-party information. This is an important aspect of party activity in every field and at all levels, and we must pay constant attention to it. How effective our decisions are will depend on the quality and promptness of information, on its relevance and objectivity. The Central Committee takes steps to further improve the information system. We must put greater emphasis in everyday work on the need to fully use every source of information at our disposal, and to make better use of party decisions and the articles and commentaries published in the party's national dailies and periodicals.

The problem of personnel has always held and will continue to hold a key place in the exercise of the party's leading role and in the implementation of our policy. We need more and more people combining keen political awareness with high moral qualities and sound professional training, people dedicated to socialism and able to deal competently with the problem of advancing the economy and culture, people receptive to new and progressive ideas, and with a capacity for creative quests, people who can assimilate and apply up-to-date management methods.

Speaking of criticism and self-criticism, Gustav Husak said that they are highly important for the development of our society, for our Marxist-Leninist party and its entire activity, particularly in solving

personnel problems. Our achievements depend on their exercise. Without criticism and self-criticism it would have been hard for us to cleanse the party, re-establish its Marxist-Leninist unity and put an end to the crisis in the party and society.

However, we still witness some phenomena suggesting that some distortions of the Leninist conception of criticism and self-criticism — distortions which were among the causes of the crisis-like development in the 60s — which have yet to be eliminated. The task is, first of all, to fully grasp the constructive function of criticism and self-criticism in every area of work and in every work team, effectively expose shortcomings, follow progressive development lines in the production sphere and in the life of society as a whole, and persuade people to be exacting toward both themselves and others.

Our intention to encourage criticism and self-criticism does not mean that we are going to allow scope for attacks on our socialist social system. We cannot tolerate a situation in which the vast opportunities afforded by socialist democracy and the freedoms of our people are abused for subversion purposes.

In selecting and placing personnel, we do not look to communists alone. Elected to and holding positions of responsibility in every public field are members of other political parties as well as non-party people. In the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which is our largest mass organization, non-party people make up roughly 70 per cent of all activists.

We see to it that representation in all bodies from top to bottom is in conformity with the social and age composition of our society.

The growth trend of the party since its 15th Congress has been favorable. The party has been growing both numerically and qualitatively. As of January 1, 1978, it had 1,473,112 full and candidate members. Its numerical strength increased in two years by more than 92,000. Nearly 156,000 persons were admitted to candidate membership between the 15th Congress and January 1, 1978. The party's social and age composition goes on improving. Its working-class core is growing stronger. Over 62 per cent of the newly admitted candidate members are workers and nearly eight per cent, cooperative peasants.

We also wish to inform the Central Committee of fulfillment of the 15th Congress guideline regarding a differentiated approach to members who were expelled or struck off the lists. By far most of them came to realize the essence of the crisis and the correctness of the conclusions drawn by the party and the solutions decided on,

and are taking an active part in the construction of our socialist society.

The 15th Congress resolved that those who had not been active right-wing opportunists, had proved their devotion to socialism by deeds and actively support the party's policies and our friendship with the Soviet Union can be readmitted to the party. Regional and district committees and branches of the party have approached this matter judiciously and with a sense of responsibility. The past period has seen a number of former members admitted to candidate membership of the party. The congress guideline on this point has proved its worth, and we must continue to follow it.

The emphasis constantly laid by our party on an offensive in the ideological struggle against the class enemy is particularly justified now that we are witnessing stepped-up anti-Czechoslovak campaigns. Our enemies cannot forgive us the defeat they suffered in 1948 when our working people led by the Communist Party achieved victory over reaction.

The crisis years of 1968-69 were years of a violent class and political clash that had international implications.

Our party countered all attacks and calumnies resolutely and explicitly, above all in the "Lessons of the Crisis-like Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress," a document which was approved by the Central Committee and endorsed by the 14th and 15th Party Congresses and fully retains its validity.

After ten years our party and people are in a position to fully appreciate how greatly the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was needed to save socialism in the CSSR and how very correct our approach has been since April 1969. Today's realities and the practical experience of the past ten years show that the development of socialism in our country was made possible solely as a result of the complete political defeat of the anti-socialist, right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces and the imperialist schemes linked with them.

Bourgeois propaganda does its utmost to give a distorted picture of the developments in our country in recent years and to belittle our successes. In an effort to achieve its aim, it resorts to various myths and completely unfounded inventions ranging from falsehoods about "differences" in the party leadership to rumors about a currency reform designed to provoke hoarding. All calumnies and all attempts

to disrupt our effort and divert us from our chosen path are useless. We will persevere in advancing our socialist society.

The reason why we underline the positive is not that we want to reassure ourselves or to conceal problems and shortcomings. We do it to indicate that we are following the right path and have nothing to change in the line we have adopted. We are on the whole accomplishing what we undertook at the 15th Congress two years ago.

Generally speaking, both the federal government and the two national governments are functioning well. However, since these are our highest organs of state power whose activity impinges on the whole of society, the level of their work has its effect on the entire government machinery, on the functioning of leading bodies at all levels, and we must therefore make the highest demands of them.

Communists in central bodies and institutions form an important political and intellectual potential and bear great responsibility for the implementation of the party line and the application of Leninist working methods.

The opportunities of promoting democracy provided by our political system should be used to a much greater extent so that all its components may function at full capacity and that people's participation in management and government may grow.

Our party also devotes much attention to international policy problems and the implementation of the policy line of the 15th Congress, Gustav Husak said in conclusion. The results achieved in this sphere are satisfactory. A permanent and reliable basis for all our foreign policy activity is our solid friendship, alliance and growing all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Our republic contributes in close coordination with the other countries of the socialist community to the growing influence of socialism on world developments and takes part in the struggle to ease international tensions and promote peace.

Thanks to our consistent peace policy based on respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and on effort to promote mutually beneficial cooperation, our republic has normal relations with the overwhelming majority of countries. Our advanced economy, which provides a vast basis for the development of this cooperation, plays an important role in this. It is on these principles that our good relations and cooperation with many African, Asian and Latin American countries are developing.

The results of the first two years that have passed since the 15th Congress and of the first two months of this year show that the tasks we have set for this period are on the whole being carried out with success. The working people of our country led by the Communist Party have made further progress in building a developed socialist society.

Fulfillment of our economic tasks holds a key place in the realization of the entire program of the 15th Congress. This is where we come up against the most challenging problems, which explains why we give it special attention. It is in this sphere that we must further enrich the positive experience gained in recent years.

Our society has the strength and means to attain the goals set by the 15th Congress. To do this, however, we must mobilize all resources and reserves, all communists, all working people.

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, March 18, 1978

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party held a plenum in Baghdad on March 10, to discuss the international and inter-Arab situation and the political situation in the country. The CC ICP report, printed in *Tariq al-Shaab*, says in part:

The socialist community headed by the Soviet Union achieved in the past year outstanding successes in fulfilling economic development plans, strengthening the foundation of socialist society, building the material-technical base of communism, deepening the cohesion of the communist parties of socialist countries and consolidating economic cooperation of the socialist states. The influence of the socialist community, a decisive factor in international life, is continually growing and it is becoming increasingly obvious that important international issues concerning the interests of all humanity cannot be resolved without the active participation of the socialist countries.

At the same time, the general crisis of capitalism is growing deeper, despite all the predictions and forecasts of bourgeois ideologues and theoreticians.

Commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the international activities linked with it, the report emphasizes, have shown that the communist world movement is the most powerful revolutionary force of our epoch, and demonstrated the international significance of the experience of the first victorious socialist revolution and the outstanding place occupied by the party of the great Lenin in the world communist and revolutionary movements.

Noting the enormous achievements of the forces of progress, peace, national liberation, the report goes on to say, imperialism is frenziedly seeking to weaken them by various measures, from attempts to strengthen its positions in the regions of the world still under its control, to regain its lost influence, to sow discord among the world revolutionary contingents by encouraging the so-called "Eurocommunism" and Maoism, which has fully exposed itself as an enemy of the Soviet Union, of Marxism-Leninism, of the entire world communist and national-liberation movement, and an accomplice of imperialism and international reaction.

The USA has sought to undermine the successes of détente and to reduce to nought the results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, step up the arms race, including the production of a new destructive weapon — the neutron bomb; they have attempted to revive cold-war traditions in international life, energize the aggressive NATO bloc and launched a subversive ideological campaign under the slogan of "defense of human rights" in the socialist states.

With respect to the situation in the Arab region, the report notes that the Arab national-liberation movement during the past year came up against serious difficulties and dangerous digressions, leading to increasing pressure on the part of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This offensive was part of the general strategy of imperialism in its struggle against the world revolutionary process, but it acquired more complex and aggravated forms in the Middle East in view of the successes of the Arab liberation movement, its gains, its ever stronger alliance with socialist community countries, the existence of vast oil resources and the strategic position of the region.

Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the ensuing meetings and talks of the head of the Egyptian regime with Israel and the USA represent a dangerous link in the designs of imperialism, Zionism and reaction aimed at thwarting the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, splitting the ranks of progressive Arabs, dealing a blow at their

national regimes and revolutionary forces, eroding the socio-economic gains of the Arab peoples, undermining friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, establishing the domination of imperialism, Zionism and reaction in the Arab region, and ensuring the plunder of its natural wealth. Sadat's policy, the document notes, dangerously tilted the balance of forces in the region in favor of Zionism, excluded Egypt from the liberation struggle, put its armed forces at the service of foreign states in the Arab world and on the African continent. Alien to the aspirations of all national and patriotic Arab circles, Sadat's policy pursues the aim of concluding a separate deal with the enemy.

The plenum in this connection drew special attention to the fact that friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community remain as before a necessary condition for the success of the Arabs' struggle to successfully liquidate the aggression, reinstate their legitimate national rights and ensure their progress. This cooperation is based on the Soviet Union's principled policy in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress. Its consolidation is the primary objective of the Arab peoples, their revolutionary forces and progressive regimes.

The Central Committee reaffirmed the need for unity and cohesion of progressive Arab forces to defeat the designs of imperialism, Zionism and reaction and stressed the importance of strengthening the progressive Arab front set up at the Tripoli and Algiers meetings, and of Iraq's participation in it. Plenum called for unity of the Palestine organizations and their rallying around the PLO, for growing solidarity with the Palestine revolution and giving all-round support to it.

The internal-political section of the CC ICP report notes the importance of Iraq's continued progressive development in the economic, social and cultural spheres, the cohesion of all progressive and democratic forces of the country within the framework of the progressive National-Democratic Front, of pursuing an anti-imperialist policy, consolidation of relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, frustrating the attempts of reactionary, rightist, bureaucratic and parasitic groups to hamper the republic's development.

The Iraqi communists, the report says, consider the creation of the Front a significant gain of the Iraqi people, for bringing mobilization of the masses in implementing progressive transformations and serves as the basis for thwarting the designs of imperialism, Zionism and

reaction. The Iraqi communists come out for consolidation of relations between the ICP, the Baath Party and other national forces, elimination of disagreements between them so that the Front would play an active role in drafting and implementing the policy of the republic. We advocate concluding the national-democratic stage of the revolution and building the foundations for the transfer to socialism and are convinced that our country and its revolutionary movement possess all the opportunities needed for this.

The report notes simultaneously that the ICP, its organizations and press have been subjected to various forms of discrimination and persecution during 1977 and that this has negatively affected the activity of the Front and the popular masses. These negative phenomena encourage the reactionary forces and their propaganda, which runs counter to the objectives of the Front, the national progressive regime and Iraq's development. Our party holds, the report notes, that vigorous measures must be taken to strengthen the unity of our people, defend their revolutionary gains, to isolate the rightist and reactionary elements, which are continuing their plotting against the country's progressive policy, exploiting the difficulties, negative aspects, the erroneous attitude regarding the autonomy of the Kurdish people.

Abridged from *Tariq al-Shaab*, March 14, 1978

FOR AN ANTI-FASCIST PATRIOTIC FRONT

Political Resolution of the CC, Brazilian Communist Party

The BCP Central Committee adopted at its December 1977 meeting an important resolution which deals with the international situation and gives a profound analysis of the Brazilian scene. The document orients the party on uniting all anti-dictatorship forces to create a broad anti-fascist and democratic front in the country. The resolution notes that the struggle centers on winning democratic freedoms and stresses the enormous significance of steps taken in that direction. Below we print propositions of the resolution which represent the greatest interest for the international communist movement.

The material was prepared for *Information Bulletin* by Jose Soares, member of the CC BCP.

"Last month saw the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. The numerous activities marking this date demonstrated the road traversed by the socialist movement since its inception. On this road the October Revolution was a major landmark, the main event of the present epoch. Its world-historic significance was clearly confirmed by the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the socialist changes in other countries. It is evidenced not only by the structural transformation of society, revolutionizing the minds of more than a third of humanity, but also by the role which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are playing in the struggle against imperialism, fascism and reaction, by the unremitting struggle for peace, for the independence of the peoples, for democracy and socialism.

"Capitalism's crisis stands out clearly, particularly since 1974, against the background of expanding détente which is an important feature of world development.

"The crisis has extended beyond the purely economic framework, spreading into social and political spheres of the developed capitalist countries. Crisis phenomena have acquired a global scale. The present-day capitalist world is characterized by intensified competition between the leading imperialist states and the social conflicts within each of them. The tendency toward economic integration within the world system of imperialism accentuates, on the one hand, the inter-imperialist competition, and on the other, engenders a striving to defend national economies and to resort to protectionist measures."

"Despite the changed balance of forces on the world arena and the social changes in the various capitalist countries, the policy of imperialism remains aggressive. It is aimed at halting the advance of the progressive and democratic forces, as the events on the African continent and in the Middle East show.

"Imperialism's defeat in Vietnam was an event of historic importance. However, its consequences are manifested not only on the international plane: account should be taken of the fact that in the United States itself public opinion opposed Washington's aggression against the Vietnamese people.

"It is in this context that we should see Carter's coming to power. It, moreover, explains the outwardly contradictory character of his policy ...

"U.S. State Department policy flexibly reacts to any changes in the balance of forces on the Latin American continent, as witnessed by

the conclusion of the Panama Canal treaty with the progressive Torrijos government and the resumption, however limited, of the dialogue with the Republic of Cuba.

“Along with this, the human rights campaign against the most repressive methods employed by the anti-popular and anti-democratic military dictatorships is mounting in Latin America. Undeniably Carter’s statement and certain steps of the U.S. government favor this campaign.

“The growing isolation of the continent’s reactionary military regimes, many of which experience serious political difficulties, impels them to publicly announce liberalization measures, which in point of fact have been won by the peoples of these countries and world public opinion.

“In the present international situation, which is characterized by détente, the retreat of the forces of imperialism, deep-going democratic tendencies across the world, the anti-popular regimes — which in a number of Latin American countries, and particularly in Brazil, are resorting to brutal reprisals against the masses — are finding it increasingly difficult to hang on to power. Taking account of this reality, the imperialists are drafting their policies aimed at expanding the political base of such regimes to maintain the fundamental mechanisms of class domination and dependency.”

A DEPENDENT ECONOMY SERVES THE MONOPOLIES

“The Brazilian economy, which is developing along lines running counter to the national interests, is now experiencing the consequences of a policy that has increased the country’s dependence on and subordination to imperialism, and favors the interests of foreign and national monopolies. Though the present situation cannot be called a recession, there are clear symptoms of a slump in some branches of economic activity. They are expressed by a slower rate of industrial growth, resulting in more unemployment. With the rate of inflation exceeding wage increases, the people’s living standards are deteriorating further.

“The foreign debt is mounting threateningly. In 1977 it amounted to 30,000 million dollars, increasing further the balance of payments deficit.

The Brazilian economy’s vulnerability in conditions of a fluctuating international market, combined with the debt burden, augurs a sombre perspective for the years ahead. Though the Brazilian

government's creditability on the world financial markets has somewhat improved, new loans and investments are tied to obligatory imports of foreign equipment, which impinges the development of national heavy industry. In deference to international creditors, the authorities are even reducing state orders with the private sector. The banks exact a very high rate of interest, enabling them to pocket enormous sums.

"As a result of this anti-national, anti-popular economic and financial policy, which runs counter to the interests of the broad masses of working people, and the policy of repression against the people, the dictatorship finds itself in increasing isolation."

"The analysis of the economic situation thus shows that the military-fascist regime is confronted by problems which it is incapable of resolving in view of its anti-popular and anti-national character. As for the political situation, it is characterized, on the one hand, by a further weakening of the positions and growing isolation of the regime, and on the other, the growing influence of the opposition forces.

"The working-class and trade union movement has an even bigger role to play in the growth of the opposition forces.

"The mass opposition movement which emerged immediately after the 1964 coup was faced with enormous difficulties. But it has now entered a new phase, expressing the aspirations of the majority of the nation ..."

"The expanding opposition front is thus an important feature of the present political situation. The growth of the forces coming out against the regime is the basis of the process of weakening and isolating the dictatorship and, in the final analysis, determines this process.

Finding itself in isolation, the dictatorship is seeking by every means to split the opposition forces.

"Its defeat at the 1974 elections finally convinced the regime of the need for negotiating and reaching agreement with other political currents in the country.

"The dictatorship spares no effort and uses all means at its disposal, from threats and blackmail to ambiguous promises of liberalization with the aim of splitting the opposition forces and ensuring that at least a part of them would support the constitutional draft, which signifies signing into law Act No. 5, that is, to incorporate it in the Constitution through the parties' vote in congress.

"The facts show, however, that the dictatorship continues to underrate the isolation of the regime it embodies, and the opposition

of the democratic forces, leaning on the broad public movement.

"This is a new aspect of the Brazilian political scene.

"The dictatorship therefore attaches as much importance as previously to reaching mutual understanding with the country's political forces, which would impart an appearance of legality to its staying in power. It is in the name of these aims that the present regime is employing all available means . . .

"The anti-dictatorship movement is heterogenous, encompassing segments of various social groups, strata and classes whose interests in the common struggle against fascism are not identical. It includes various ideological streams, from liberalism to socialism, reflecting the class differences inherent in any public movement opposing a dictatorship like the Brazilian. However, this movement has a firm unitary base that has gained in strength in recent years: the common struggle to establish a democratic regime.

"The road to democracy presupposes discussion, regular exchanges of views between the forces and strata who in one or another way seek to establish a democratic regime in Brazil.

"Mass participation imparts a truly democratic character to this discussion, making it more fruitful. In this sense the 1978 election campaign is of special importance. It will not give the electorate an opportunity to fully express their interests and aspirations, particularly in the present circumstances, but it will enable them to express the main point: protest against the dictatorship. This campaign permits the conduct of broad political actions in the country. That is why the struggle to defend it should be high on the agenda. Whoever wants to succeed on the road to freedom should take part in the struggle. The discussion, which is advocated by the majority of the population, will not be democratic unless those who were affected by the emergency legislation can fully participate in it. Certainly a broad amnesty is required. The anti-fascists should focus attention on the campaign for amnesty, and precisely the communists should concentrate efforts on launching it. Finally, a democratic atmosphere is unthinkable without freedom of association and organization. In this connection, all restrictions should be lifted on the formation of political parties or resumption of their activities. Legalization of the Communist Party will be an important indication of democratic order in our country.

UNITY, WORK AMONG THE MASSES AND THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY ARE AT THE CENTER OF THE COMMUNISTS' STRUGGLE

“We are struggling to set up an anti-fascist and patriotic front. This aim corresponds to the idea of ‘forming and developing an anti-dictatorship front’ which we expressed ten years ago at the Sixth BCP Congress. It is a question of the content, not the form, since it would be futile to try to determine the form such a front might assume. The front is a formation based on the coincidence of views of its participants which evolves into an accord between them. Setting ourselves the aim of creating such a front, we advanced in 1973 — ‘as the basis for starting concrete talks in the name of achieving unity of action’ — a number of political objectives, ‘at the center of which are democratic freedoms resulting from the common struggle.’ It is in this spirit that we are working today; this is what our activists should be guided by in their work; it is in this sense that we appeal to all who want to join efforts in the name of the primary goal of our people, a goal of which they are becoming increasingly aware.

The regime’s growing isolation as a result of the democratic forces’ opposition to it provides increasing opportunities for uniting the various forces opposing the dictatorship. Stronger unity, in the present situation, requires that a struggle be waged among individual strata as well as a common struggle that will enable uniting the various groups and strata of the opposition movement.

“The need to expand the campaign for a Constituent Assembly should be seen in this context. By transforming this campaign into a broad unitary popular movement we can arrive at a concrete form of combining the political struggle with mass actions to liquidate the present regime and to establish democracy . . . We stand for a Constituent Assembly in order to put an end to the existing regime. Therefore we will seek to ensure that the proposal to establish it be put into effect in conditions when all restrictions imposed on democracy by the dictatorship will be eliminated.

“The ability of the common opposition movement to wage such a struggle against fascism depends on its social base and on the mobilization of the working class to fight the dictatorship. As long as the most militant contingents of the popular movement, particularly the working class, lack strength they may be forced to retreat either under the dictatorship’s blows or in case a split may occur in the movement. All this would lead to the weakening of all opposition

forces. To avoid this and to open the way to a genuinely democratic system, it is essential to expand the mass movement and particularly to strengthen the working people's organizations.

"We realize the fundamental importance of using every legitimate opportunity to continue the struggle; we are prepared to cooperate with all trends moving in that direction, even if in some cases the prospects of their clashing with the regime are limited and partial. The attainment of democratic freedoms is at the center of our struggle. Great importance attaches to every successful step in that direction, however small. We understand, however, that only a democracy, having eliminated the constitutional and repressive mechanisms on which the fascist power rests, will open the way for the changes urgently needed by Brazil."

SOME GUIDELINES FOR THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP

"We should concentrate our attention on the working-class and trade union movement. Its present upsurge is distinguished by the fact that it links the struggle for specific demands, starting with the demand for higher wages, with general issues concerning the entire people.

"... Failing in its attempts to obstruct the organized working class in coming out in the van of the political struggle, the dictatorship is seeking to minimize and distort its content. The trade union movement proposed convening a national congress of the working people. This event will spark broad demonstrations at enterprises and at trade union meetings and will serve to strengthen unity in the movement.

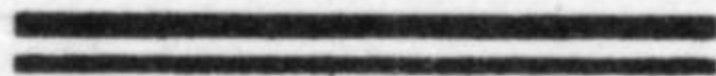
"The question of mobilizing the peasant masses should remain an object of our attention. The stepped-up struggle of the agricultural workers against the policy of growing unemployment, the peasant actions against the policy of ruining their farms and strengthening the big capitalists and latifundists, the struggle of the small owners against eviction from their lands create better conditions for enhancing and strengthening the organization of rural workers. All work in this sphere, and particularly the activity of the Catholics, must be respected and supported as it opens up new opportunities for unity with popular forces that are influenced primarily by the Church. In our view, statements by dignitaries of the Catholic Church and also agreements reached as a result of meetings sponsored by Church organizations play an important role in influencing public opinion and in mobilizing it for the struggle against the regime."

“Further the CC BCP resolution notes the significance of the students’ and teachers’ struggle for their demands, their unity and their ‘active role in mobilizing all those who suffer from fascism.’ Also noted is the struggle of the intelligentsia ‘for freedom of speech and opinion, against censorship and all other restrictions imposed by the military-fascist regime ...’ Particular note is made of the role of women in the struggle against legislative discrimination, their participation in the political life of Brazil. And, calling once again on the communists to take action, the resolution emphasizes: “We believe that it is unity on the issue of democracy that will ensure its future implementation in Brazil.”

In conclusion, the CC BCP resolution draws the communists’ attention to the need to reorganize the party:

“It is essential to surmount the disparity between the political influence of the BCP and the weakness of its organization. This is a political task that requires — proceeding from a correct approach to present and future demands of revolutionary work — at once a correct assessment of the balance of forces and concrete opportunities, skill, flexibility and a clear awareness of the limits within which steps can be taken with assurance.”

Abridged



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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

BAN THE NEUTRON BOMB

**TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA,
MR. J. CARTER**

Letter from Soviet Scientists

Mr. President:

It is reported that you will shortly be taking a decision on whether to proceed with the production of the new mass annihilation weapon, the neutron bomb.

It is the most important decision for the future course of the United States that any U.S. President has faced since the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the start of work on the thermonuclear bomb in 1950. Its importance is enhanced by the fact that it is to be made when for the first time in human history conditions favor adoption of coordinated international measures to curb the arms race.

During the election campaign you spoke of the need to deliver humanity from a thermonuclear catastrophe. This raised hopes that the United States would be actively involved in efforts to create a world without a nuclear bomb. Now you undoubtedly have at your disposal even more data needed for assessing all the dangerous consequences of developing a new generation of nuclear weapons. Now a real opportunity exists to refrain from taking a step that would complicate still more the already difficult task of "driving the nuclear genie back into the bottle."

The neutron bomb is not a defensive weapon designed to deter aggression. Certain irresponsible individuals are already citing the bomb's combat specifications in an attempt to substantiate the "acceptability" of a limited nuclear war. Such a philosophy poses an enormous threat to peace. One has to agree with the authoritative American specialists who say that the use of a nuclear weapon with even the smallest payload could trigger off a world war.

Arguments to the effect that in the present circumstances the neutron bomb enhances the strength and security of the United

States, cannot be taken seriously. History shows that no country has been able to maintain for long a monopoly over a mass destruction weapon. This is evidenced by the history of the atomic bomb and the thermonuclear weapon, the strategic atomic-powered submarines and MIRV missiles. We are certain that if the United States begins deploying the neutron weapon its monopoly on it will be very short-lived.

The decision to produce the neutron bomb would only lead to a further escalation of the arms race, complicate bilateral and multilateral negotiations on arms control, and would result in a higher, more costly and more dangerous level of the USA-USSR nuclear balance.

There is also a purely humanitarian side to the neutron bomb issue. Everyone has the natural right to protection against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The sincerity of political leaders' humanistic declarations is tested above all by their practical activity aimed at ensuring this right. The neutron bomb, which reduces the nuclear threshold, seriously threatens all humanity.

That is why, Mr. President, we appeal to you to rise above momentary considerations. We are convinced of the vital need to mutually renounce manufacture of the neutron bomb if we are to advance toward peace and understanding between the peoples.

The letter was signed by 31 members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of academies of sciences of other countries, including five Nobel Prize winners.

Pravda, March 14, 1978

TASS STATEMENT

It is for many months now that the world public has been showing deep-felt concern over the U.S. plans to manufacture the neutron bomb, a new type of mass-annihilation weapon. It is clear to the peoples that realization of these plans would mean the opening of a new direction in the arms race and increase the danger of an outbreak of a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union is strongly against such a prospect. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made a clear-cut and concrete proposal for reaching agreement on mutual refusal to manufacture neutron weapons. This proposal was for-

warded to the leadership of the USA, the governments of all NATO member-states and other West European countries.

The Soviet stand, which was prompted by deep concern for the strengthening of peace, has met with a broad response and support in many countries. European and other socialist countries have actively come out in support of such a solution of the question. A number of statesmen in Western Europe soberly assess the dangerous consequences of the production of neutron weapons. What is more, they cannot fully ignore the negative reactions from their own peoples to the intentions to deploy neutron weapons in the territories of their countries.

Nevertheless, the United States and certain circles in other NATO countries show no willingness to give up their plans. On the contrary, the reports coming in lately indicate that they intend to force through a decision on the question of neutron weapons. In doing so they seek to mislead public opinion and resort to the following maneuver: while announcing the beginning of the manufacture of neutron weapons in the USA, they promise to postpone for some time its deployment in Western Europe and simultaneously put forward a proposal — which they know is unacceptable to the Soviet Union — for tying a final decision to this question with other questions which have no relation to it.

Subterfuges of this kind are calculated for naive people, but cannot deceive the world public. Their aim is to try to dampen down the protests of peoples and, what is the main thing, to avoid the only possible sane solution which is the mutual renunciation of the production of neutron weapons.

If the NATO member-countries make their choice in favor of starting the production of neutron weapons, such a decision would force the Soviet Union to give an appropriate answer to such a challenge, as is demanded by the interests of ensuring the security of the Soviet people and their allies. The USSR would not like however, to embark on this path. There is an alternative to a new spiral in the nuclear arms race.

TASS is authorized to state that the Soviet Union again reaffirms its proposal and calls upon the United States for a mutual renunciation of the production of the neutron weapon. The Soviet government is ready to start negotiations on this issue at any time and conclude a relevant international agreement.

Pravda, March 12, 1978

A DANGEROUS TILT

The vigorous "no" of public opinion has for awhile restrained the Western countries from expressing their support for the U.S. plans to proceed with the neutron weapon and to add it to the arsenal of the North Atlantic pact. The governments of these countries, fearing to alienate public opinion, were reluctant to take the responsibility of "importing" to Europe and equipping NATO troops with the neutron weapon. Latterly, however, the situation has taken a dangerous turn.

The Western proponents of the neutron weapon are to be found in circles which advocate a cold-war policy, obstruct détente and co-operation, and advance the notorious arguments of a "communist threat" or the "military superiority" of the socialist countries in Europe. In recent years their voices had no decisive influence on the European political climate and the stand of each country on the issue of the continent's future.

The European public is therefore all the more concerned over the neutron weapon issue now being discussed in the FRG, a state that is one of NATO's main props, which will apparently be the first to receive the weapon. Their concern and legitimate protest stems from the position adopted by various parties in the FRG, particularly the opposition CDU/CSU and the Free Democratic Party (FDP).

This stance favors the introduction of the new weapon and on this issue West German political forces largely agree. The difference between them, as recent Bundestag debates showed, consists only in the varying forms of support for the U.S. plans. The CDU/CSU have long stopped concealing their enthusiasm for the neutron weapon.

Unexpectedly, these parties were supported by the FDP. The stand of the Social Democrats who suggest studying the pros and cons of the new weapon also aroused concern, particularly in connection with the disarmament talks, and SPD Federal Secretary Egon Bahr has admitted that strategic and political considerations are given preference. The arguments advanced by the CDU/CSU are common knowledge, but one can hardly refrain from commenting on the stance of the ruling parties, which shows that forces opposing détente are active in their midst. The neutron bomb, which the FDP is advocating with the tacit approval of the Social Democratic Party, would lead to a higher level of the arms race and in no case would it serve as a positive impulse in the disarmament talks. And to link it to the Vienna talks is merely an attempt at political blackmail in relation to the

Warsaw Treaty countries. The point is that it is being used as a bargaining counter: either the socialist states agree with the Western concept of disarmament (which, as everyone knows, does not correspond to the principle of equal security), or the West will start manufacturing the neutron weapon.

What is being overlooked in the FRG is that the neutron weapon increases the danger of a nuclear conflict. On the other hand, given the present level of technological development, the creation of such a weapon constitutes no particular difficulty, but this would signify a further escalation of the arms race.

Glos Pracy, March 10, 1978

"UNITED ACTION OF ALL PEACE FORCES IS ESSENTIAL"

The peace champions' struggle against U.S. plans to produce the neutron bomb and to deploy it in Western Europe is growing and expanding.

The states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe committed themselves in the Final Act to making détente a permanent and comprehensive process. Deployment of the neutron weapons on the European continent runs counter to these aims. Political détente will thereby not become more viable, but the danger of a nuclear war will increase. Recently top NATO officials are increasingly coming out in the political arena with the aim of distorting the essence of that threat and abetting a gross deception. Bundeswehr Inspector-General Wust could think of nothing better to say than that the bomb "guarantees the tranquility and security of the West."

War materiel, mass destruction weaponry and nuclear warheads are now being deployed primarily in Western Europe and particularly the Federal Republic of Germany. The densely populated FRG is a veritable powder keg. To speak of "tranquility and security" in connection with the plans to deploy additional means of mass extermination there is extremely cynical.

True, there is also the graveyard variety of tranquility. Could that be what NATO Supreme Allied Commander General Haig is preparing the ground for by saying that the neutron bomb is a welcome contribution to modernizing the nuclear armed forces in the European military theatre?

Haig refers to a theatre of military actions. But then, has an imperialist ever had anything positive to say about international commitments, of the vital need for a détente policy? Experience shows that détente can be successfully expanded only when the peoples wage a struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism.

The title of the document signed two and a half years ago in Helsinki lists such concepts as "security" and "cooperation." Their implementation opens up a peaceful perspective for our continent.

Deployment of the neutron weapons, on the contrary, would serve to revive uncertainty and confrontation on the European continent and throughout the world. A Springer daily wrote recently: "The NATO defense system's rejection of this weapon would lead to irreparable psychological and political consequences in the alliance." A revealing statement: the aggressive NATO pact cannot "psychologically" or "politically" do without a barbarous "absolute" mass extermination weapon. Thus the veil is suddenly lifted on such, often hypocritically repeated, concepts and phrases as "human rights," "promotion of peace and détente," showing reaction's cruel grimace in its grasping for power and expansion.

As a psychological and political instrument, the neutron weapon is intended to incite enmity between the peoples, revive the cold war spirit and to further poison the international atmosphere. It is designed to blackmail socialism in general and the Soviet Union in particular and, of course, the peoples of the non-socialist countries. The Social-Democratic "disarmament expert" Alfons Pawelczk even lauded the bomb. "It has the advantage that the other side will see: we only need to push a button and it will start rolling off the assembly line." The historic truth should be borne in mind, however, that the "other side," that is, socialism, the Soviet Union, could not be blackmailed either in 1917 or in 1945, and certainly it cannot be blackmailed now. Peoples relying on the peaceful forces of socialism cannot be blackmailed. Security and cooperation remain a vital principle of the peoples that ensures Europe's security in future.

Deployment of the neutron weapon in Western Europe would lead to a new spiral in the arms race. It would endanger disarmament, hamper Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting strategic arms. It would prejudice agreement on curbing the NATO-instigated runaway arms race, and on disarmament.

As an old adage puts it: war spells destruction, peace spells food. In our time this signifies that the struggle to curb arms stockpiling and for disarmament is becoming the central problem, the key issue of further

development. Solution of these questions in the interests of peace require that all means and resources be directed at achieving the primary goals facing humanity.

Worldwide protest actions against the neutron bomb have become a part of the struggle to implement the Final Act. These protests are vexing to NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Haig of the USA. Indeed, President Carter has not yet reached a final decision on producing the neutron bomb. This is undoubtedly a success for the peace forces, which has prompted Haig to say that he is concerned over the talk about the "inhumanity" of this weapon.

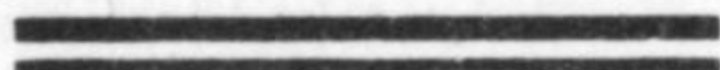
The peoples fear an onslaught on détente and European security. The NATO top brass in Europe are "concerned" over the fact that the peoples are vigorously denouncing the "humane" and "blessed" misanthropic U.S. neutron weapon.

On the one hand — humanism, on the other, inhumanity. They are irreconcilable. The Soviet Union has proposed that the NATO states sign a treaty to mutually refrain from producing the neutron weapon. The Pentagon has predicted that a total nuclear war in Western Europe would cost 100 million lives.

For Europe, curbing the arms race, weakening the military confrontation, a lessening and then elimination of the danger of a nuclear war is a vital necessity. Socialism is seeking to achieve this aim. The Soviet Union had advanced corresponding constructive proposals. To translate them into reality united action of the peace forces is essential. This unity is a requirement of our time.

Georg Gracnick

Abridged from *Horizont*, No. 5, 1978



CANADA: FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION TO ECONOMIC STAGNATION, AGAINST MONOPOLY DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION

A six-point program to overcome stagnation of the economy and create jobs was advanced by the Communist Party of Canada. It was addressed to the 1978 summit meeting of the Canadian Prime Minister and provincial premiers. The meeting was called to deal with Canada's worsening economic position.

The ruling circles are acting within a general consensus that the solution to the spreading economic crisis should be at the expense of the laboring masses. The workers and their trade unions and other democratic forces are challenging this position. They are projecting their own solutions to the problem. This was expressed in the letter of the Central Executive Committee of the CPC, signed by the party leader, William Kashtan, to the summit meeting.

While major corporations are recording increased profits in the past few years, this has not been translated into economic and social progress. Unemployment, whose rate is among the highest in developed capitalist countries, is still rising. Young people and women are the major victims. Inflation is unchecked. A move, which can only be characterized as de-industrialization, is being pursued by USA monopolies in Canada with the connivance of Canadian governments. Economic stagnation is deepening the political uncertainties which, at present, find their main expression in the crisis of Confederation. This, in turn, is used by monopoly to intensify the drive against the living standards of most Canadian people.

RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMY

The CP points to the obvious need for new government policies. It also indicates the measures which should be implemented to put Canada back to work, expand the home market, raise purchasing power and strengthen Canada's independence.

What could be considered as immediate steps, as a policy of all-Canadian economic development geared to policies of full employment, *the first proposal* calls for: "an all-Canadian Development

Prepared for *Information Bulletin* by Peter Boychuck, CC member, Communist Party of Canada.

Investment Fund should be established to carry out Canada-wide building projects. Within this framework, a vast low-income housing program should be undertaken with a target of 300,000 housing units annually. Public transportation must be developed and modernized. An all-Canadian electric power grid should be built as a step toward the adoption of a comprehensive Canada-wide energy policy encompassing all elements of energy in Canada. Urban redevelopment should be tackled with funds made available by federal and provincial governments. Re-establish Canada's merchant marine and build ships to trade with the world."

This is the reverse of existing government policy of concessions, subsidies and tax cuts to the corporations and wage freezes for the workers as a means of stimulating economy. Equally bankrupt has been its reliance on U.S. recovery to overcome stagnation, all the more so as signs of recession now make their appearances in that country.

The second proposal states that "Canada needs an economic strategy which will expand the manufacturing and processing industry and thereby create new skills and new jobs for a growing labor force and for the unemployed.

"Such an economic strategy is essential to help widen the home market and expand trade with the world. The resource industries, particularly energy, which are now controlled in large measure by U.S. and other foreign-owned corporations, and which are so vital for Canada's independent development, should be publicly owned through joint federal-provincial bodies, and a secondary industry built at the source of these resources."

Government policies, which have opened wide the door to increased economic penetration of Canada by U.S. multinational corporations, are further distorting the Canadian economy. U.S. control hinders technological and balanced economic development while the U.S. branch economy has now become a source of increasing weakness and instability for Canada. This is so because U.S. imperialism tries to resolve its crisis at Canada's expense by curtailing production or by closing down branch plants. There isn't a city or town in Ontario (Canada's main industrial province) where this is not occurring. The closing down as well as sharply curtailing production facilities in Canada by INCO and Falconbridge, the two biggest, Canadian based, nickel monopolies in the capitalist world has led to thousands of workers being permanently laid off. These are merely the most dramatic examples of what is taking place, and not only in

Ontario. These developments are leading to a de-industrialization of Canada and to a further weakening of its independence.

EXPANSION OF THE HOME MARKET

The government proposal for some structural reforms to cope with the crisis, has nothing to do with the restructuring of the entire economy. It is limited to some sectors of the economy. Emphasizing the latter, the Prime Minister declares that Canada's economy is going to remain extremely free "as long as I am Prime Minister." Since monopoly and the multinationals control virtually all aspects of economic life in Canada, this remark suggests the government does not intend to curb their power despite the fact that they are the source of the crisis plaguing Canada. If no basic structural reforms are contemplated, the Prime Minister could well say "Canada will have to face up to a period of high unemployment."

In answer to this retrograde policy *the number three proposal* of the CP says "Canada needs a special policy directed to raise purchasing power and thereby expand the home market. Reduced standards for working people in city and countryside, which is the essence of the governments-controlled growth policies aimed at assuring guaranteed high profits for the corporations, must be ended. Instead, through a genuine redistribution of national income, living standards must be raised, restraints and cutback programs abandoned and social security further advanced. This should start with substantially increased pension payments and family allowances, reduced taxes for incomes below \$15,000 a year, and, not least, effective measures taken to overcome regional disparity.

"In addition a greater proportion of the costs of education, health and welfare should be assumed by the federal and provincial governments and thus relieve the property tax at the municipal level.

"Legislation should be adopted calling for equal pay for work of equal value with the federal and provincial governments setting an example in its implementation.

"Emergency measures should immediately be adopted to create jobs and training for the young people presently unemployed. Retraining programs at trade union rates of pay should be undertaken to help train young people for useful, creative work."

Canadian corporations and governments continually charge the Canadian workers, with no substantiation whatsoever, of being less productive than all other labor forces. In this way they try to absolve themselves for creating the obscene situation where 1,000,000 work-

ers, many of them young people and women, look for jobs which are not there while a considerable portion of production facilities remain idle. To change this, the CP proposal continues:

“Government policy federally and provincially should be directed to bring about reduced hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay. If one examines present unemployment it is found that a major reason for it is technological changes and rationalization in industry, all carried out at the expense of the jobs of working men and women. These facts are hidden while the drums are beaten claiming that high wages and competition on the world market are responsible for unemployment. This claim was made in the 20s, in the 30s, in the 40s, in the 50s, in the 60s. It was false then and it is false now. Increased productivity has made possible a reduction in hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay without adding to the cost of production.”

SOME SPECIFIC MEASURES

“Parity prices for agricultural produce would enable farmers to catch up with rising prices” is *the fourth proposal*. The next proposal (*fifth*) calls for “basic structural reforms” to achieve the objectives. “Leaving it to private enterprise as is suggested by the government means maintaining present high unemployment.” Hidden behind the monopoly clamor for less government intervention is its demand for government intervention in favor of monopoly profits rather than intervention to expand the economy, raise purchasing power and to advance social security. “It is precisely this kind of government intervention which is called for today. This demands basic structural reforms through public ownership of the U.S. branch plants in Canada. It is precisely through such Canadian ownership and democratic control that the crisis can be coped with and policies of economic expansion undertaken.”

Government intervention is called for in two other areas. One calls for federal and provincial legislation “which would make it mandatory on companies to consult with unions at least a year in advance when questions of layoffs, moving of plants or plant closures are under consideration. The legislation should also make it mandatory on companies to pay a year’s severance pay to laid off workers.” The other deals with the increased evictions from homes due to layoffs and asks for legislation “prohibiting such evictions and foreclosures, including the cutting off of water, electricity and gas.”

The fifth group of proposals also points to the need for basic

structural reforms to solve the crisis of Confederation "based on recognition of Canada as a bi-national state of two equal partners, and in a redefinition of federal-provincial rights which would bring an end to policies of discrimination against the West and the Maritimes. If a new made-in-Canada Constitution constitutes the political foundation for Canadian unity, so a new all-Canadian economic policy constitutes its economic foundation and the basis for strengthening the independence of Canada."

The sixth proposal stresses not only the need but the possibility of carrying out the above measures. "Instead of spending billions of dollars on arms in support of NATO and NORAD," which do nothing to enhance Canada's security, people's well-being and in the process undermines Canada's sovereignty in U.S. imperialism's interests, "these huge sums should be used to build Canada and put it back to work."

Voicing its opinion that the above measures are important "in providing work, raising standards, giving youth a future and strengthening the unity and independence of Canada" the CP states it is possible only within "a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament based on equality of security" as "the only sane alternative to an escalating arms race which adds to the insecurity of the world."

WITHDRAW ISRAELI TROOPS FROM LEBANON IMMEDIATELY

CPI Central Committee Resolution

March 17-18, 1978, the CPI Central Committee held a plenary meeting condemning the attack on Lebanon by Israeli troops.

The CPI Central Committee sharply condemns the aggressive incursion by Israeli troops, directed both against Lebanon and against the Palestinian Arab people. This aggression is fraught with the danger of a new war in the Middle East. The military operations launched by Israel represent a dangerous escalation of the Begin government's policy designed to liquidate the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people for their legitimate rights, to destroy the PLO, and annex new Arab territories for Israel.

The CPI Central Committee resolutely condemns the barbaric

bombings of the Palestine refugee camps and Lebanese villages, which have resulted in the wiping out of dozens of villages and the killing of hundreds of people, including women and children, while the number of refugees has been swelled by tens of thousands.

This criminal attack on Lebanon which was prepared in advance by the Begin government with the blessing and support of Washington, is a fresh attempt to pressure Syria and other Arab countries into submitting to their imperialist interests in the Middle East. The invasion of Lebanon also implies an attack on the anti-imperialist patriotic forces of that country and preparation of the ground for domination by the right-wing reactionary elements of the fascist falangists over the whole of Lebanon.

There can be no doubt that when invading Lebanon and making its barbaric attack on the Arab Palestinian people the Begin government was exploiting the split in the Arab world brought about by the pro-imperialist policy of Sadat. However, the consequences of this dangerous gamble may boomerang against its initiators themselves.

The attack on Lebanon has roused great anger among the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. A wave of demonstrations has swept the West Bank and the Gaza strip. During one of them, in the town of Nibus two schoolchildren were killed. In other places many of the demonstrators have been injured.

The Arab Palestinian people are bravely defending their right to exist and to establish an independent state alongside Israel. The CPI Central Committee expresses its concern for peace in the Middle East and calls for an end to the invasion of Lebanon and the return of the troops to Israel. The CPI Central Committee stresses once again that the only way to put an end to the bloodshed and ensure peace for Israel and all other countries of the region lies through realization of the peace program proposed by our party. This program guarantees the rights and security of all peoples and all states of the Middle East, including the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

The failure of the plans of Sadat, Begin and Carter in recent months indicates the absence of any other solution to achieve peace except the holding of a peace conference in Geneva with the participation of all sides, including a delegation from the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people. In these anxious days the CPI Central Committee calls upon everyone who values peace, upon all realistic forces, upon all people of goodwill to speak out for an end to the war in Lebanon, for the immediate return of the troops to Israel, and for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

GUS HALL'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

The Communist Party, USA, yesterday protested harassment of William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, by U.S. Immigration authorities when he sought to enter the country recently at Buffalo, New York.

The Immigration Service, an agency of the U.S. Department of Justice, refused to admit Kashtan unless he filled in a fingerprint chart, provided several letters of reference, and answered 15 other questions in order to enter the United States.

In a protest letter to President Carter, Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, called this a "flagrant violation of the elementary right to travel" and in "clear violation of the Helsinki accords." Hall demanded that the "full right" of William Kashtan to visit the U.S. under the normal conditions and procedures which govern visits between U.S. and Canadian citizens be immediately restored.

Hall's letter said:

"Dear President Carter,

"While your representatives in Belgrade were clamoring for your version of 'human rights,' U.S. Immigration authorities in Buffalo, N.Y., denied equal access of travel into the United States to William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada.

"Mr. Kashtan's effort to visit the U.S. was brought about by our party's invitation to the Communist Party of Canada to send a fraternal delegation to meet with us.

"In October, 1977, a delegation from the Communist Party of Mexico did visit the U.S. in response to our invitation for a fraternal exchange of views between our two parties."

The letter added that Kashtan "has rightly refused to comply with this arbitrary inquisition by the Justice Department."

The letter pointed out that the right to travel, without such restrictions, is "mutually enjoyed every year by thousands of U.S. and Canadian citizens."

It called the harassment "a blatant insult to the friendship of U.S. and Canadian people. And it is cause for alarm that this may signal further attacks upon the civil liberties of the people of the United States."

Daily World, March 14, 1978

STATEMENT OF THE 13TH PLENUM OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

The 13th plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Venezuela, held in Caracas over February 4-5, discussed united action by the left forces at the coming presidential elections.

The policy of the Communist Party of Venezuela has for a long time recognized the profound sentiments of the working people and other progressive strata for united action. They are the inspiration for our appeal to put forward a common candidate and a common action program, they are the basis of the many conferences with representatives of the left forces and of the relevant proposals that we have repeatedly made at different times to the parties and representatives of the left forces.

Our candidate Hector Mujica is a firm supporter of unity. Consequently, the contacts that followed the quadrilateral conference on January 11 in the El Conde hotel were very positive for the CPV.

In a short period of time we made significant progress: we reached agreement on common action during the election campaign, agreed to stop attacking each other, and the secretaries of trade union organizations are drawing up a common program of basic demands for unfolding our joint mass struggle.

The Communist Party is satisfied with the agreement achieved.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN PROBLEMS

Our examination of the problems of the election campaign disclosed serious difficulties. This is natural and was to be expected. We voiced our conviction that for the progressive and left forces, nominating a common candidate with a common program is a question of choosing the power-to-be.

Despite our warning that in the present situation it would not be easy to achieve this goal, we must continue the struggle for this maximum goal and be prepared to preserve our unity even if we do not achieve all our objectives. We do not intend to teach other leaders, they do not need this — they have their own convictions and experience. But we wish to state very clearly that it would be ill-advised to seek isolation of one of the parties and that it is senseless to put forward a certain candidate if it is known beforehand that there is no consensus concerning him.

OTERO SILVA'S LETTER

As for the concrete proposals we have received, we must say the following: we found the letter by the writer Miguel Otero Silva to be of greatest interest to us. His letter deserves to be discussed except for the part where he refers to a single card, because such an election mechanism raises serious legal objections.

We have always believed that this well-known writer's proposals are motivated by a desire for unity. Here is a man concerned with the country's destiny and with everything that has to do with the left forces.

We regret what has been said by the Movement Toward Socialism Party (MAS, a part of the left forces bloc. — *Ed.*), about these proposals because this did not help the unification process which all of us are trying to strengthen and advance.

UNITY IN ORDER TO COME TO POWER

The working people want unity in order to come to power. This is a legitimate desire which we, communists, share. Our contribution to achieving this goal is limited, however, because we are not yet a great party of the working class. We continue carrying our banner in order to resist the enemies of the people during and after the elections.

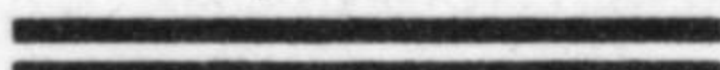
The working people, housewives, the younger generation, scientists and technicians, artists and artisans can help achieve unity by putting positive pressure on the left parties in which the appeals of these classes and social strata is getting a positive response.

The practical application of the plan for unity, announced by the group of 100 independents, would be a valuable contribution to this just cause.

THE CANDIDATE

Our party's position on the question of a presidential candidate has been clearly defined. We are ready to accept any one of the four candidates suggested by the parties, or another candidate, if we agree on a common program. However, we believe that any decision not commonly agreed on would be undesirable.

And, finally, it should be clear that we, communists, are always ready to reach agreement with the left and progressive forces if this would advance the just cause of the people of Venezuela.



ON SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS

Conducting the Leninist peaceful policy, the Soviet government constantly showed and shows a principled approach to the question of relations between the USSR and China, the approach prompted by a sincere striving for their settlement.

As is known, the principles on whose basis Soviet-Chinese relations could be normalized and improved to the benefit of the vital interests of the peoples of both countries, of the cause of peace and socialism, were confirmed by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. These principles were consistently confirmed by the Soviet Union's concrete and realistic initiatives. They include a number of constructive proposals, among them a proposal on the conclusion of a treaty on non-use of force (1971), a treaty on non-aggression (1973), on the holding of a summit meeting of representatives of both countries, on the resumption of economic and cultural cooperation, scientific and technical relations, cooperation in the sphere of health services, along the lines of public organizations, etc.

These initiatives following the sole purpose of bringing relations between the USSR and the PRC back to the road of good-neighborliness were either rejected by the Chinese side or left unanswered. Nevertheless, the USSR, motivated by the historic responsibility for the consolidation of world peace and concern for normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations, decided to take a new step of goodwill.

On February 24, 1978, on the eve of a session of the National People's Congress, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet sent a message to its Standing Committee.

The message says that over the recent years Soviet-Chinese relations assumed a nature that cannot but cause serious concern. The existing state of affairs leads to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual distrust, to the heightening of tensions in inter-state relations. The vital interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples require the adoption of definite practical measures aimed at normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations in accordance with the aspirations and hopes of the

peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The Soviet Government repeatedly advanced concrete proposals aimed at bringing relations between the USSR and the PRC back to the road of good-neighborliness, and expressed the USSR's readiness to normalize relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The government of the People's Republic of China, for its part, had officially stated that the PRC could build relations with the USSR on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet people sincerely wish to see China a friendly prosperous power.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, expressing the will and aspirations of the Soviet people, is once again stating its readiness to put an end to the present abnormal situation in the relations between the USSR and the PRC, and to stop the dangerous process of further aggravating relations which may lead to serious negative consequences for our countries and peoples, for the destinies of peace in the Far East, in Asia and throughout the world.

In order to materialize the desire expressed by the two sides to base their relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence and embody this in a tangible international act, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet suggests that our countries come forward with a joint statement on the principles of mutual relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China. It is believed in the Soviet Union that a joint statement that the sides will build their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, firmly adhering to the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other and non-use of force could advance the cause of normalizing our relations.

We suggest that if the very idea of making such a statement is acceptable to the Chinese side, a meeting of representatives of both countries should be held at a sufficiently high level and should agree on a mutually acceptable text of the statement in the shortest possible time.

The Soviet Union is prepared to receive representatives of the People's Republic of China, the message says. If the Chinese side deems it expedient that Soviet representatives should arrive for the aforementioned purpose in Peking, we agree to this. On our part, we are prepared to consider proposals of the PRC aimed at normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations.

This important document clearly expresses the Soviet Union's

striving for normalization of relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence, taking into account mutual interests and without any preliminary conditions.

But the PRC leadership, this time also, took a negative stand. On March 9, 1978, it repeated the unacceptable preliminary conditions it had advanced before. The meaning of these preliminary conditions is to sidestep the discussion of the essence of the questions of improvement of inter-state relations between the two countries and to continue its unfriendly course with regard to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet circles expressed the hope that the Chinese leadership will positively respond to the message of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet so as to start a constructive dialogue for the purpose of a radical improvement of inter-state relations. But this, regrettably, did not happen. The latest session of the National People's Congress indicates that hostility to the Soviet Union continues to be elevated to the rank of state policy of China.

The Chinese authorities' stand only indicates again that their words are obviously at variance with their actions, their statements as to desire to improve relations with their neighbor are not backed by practical deeds. There are all the signs that for some people in China tension in Soviet-Chinese relations and the artificial stirring up of anti-Sovietism are more suitable than the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

As far as the Soviet leadership is concerned, it proceeds from the firm conviction that in relations between the USSR and the PRC there are no matters which cannot be solved in the spirit of good-neighborliness. The Soviet side, displaying goodwill, will continue to act in this direction. Of course, Peking's present hostility to the USSR cannot be taken into account in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people, however, have not lost hope that, with the passage of time, the relations of cooperation and good-neighborliness between the USSR and the PRC will be restored in the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and peace throughout the world. The matter will depend on what attitude the PRC will take.

Pravda, March 21, 1978



WILL THE PRESENT BALANCE OF FORCES LAST?

Now that the session of the National People's Congress has concluded its deliberations and most of the documents adopted by it are known, it is safe to say that the session made no substantial changes in the country's policy. It showed that the present Chinese leadership has no intention of renouncing use of the power mechanism created during the "cultural revolution." Indeed, there is a tendency to use existing institutions more actively with a view to achieving the goal set, that is, transforming China into one of the world's most powerful countries before the end of the century.

The reports presented to the session bore out the impression that the new Peking leadership considers the necessity for rapid economic growth in direct connection with the task of modernizing the army. The army is still the mainstay of the regime. The ambitious plan for the country's economic development in the next decade is entirely subordinate to the global objective of rapidly building up the missile and nuclear potential of the PRC. This purpose is to be served both by the proposed highly intensive pace of increasing steel production and by the decision to prolong the call-up period for another year and the period of volunteer service, for five years. From now on, active military service will last three years in the land forces, four years in the air force and special troops, five in the navy and marine corp, and 20 in the volunteer corps.

Both the reports and the constitution adopted by the session establish Maoism as the official ideology of the state. Calls for "war preparations" rang out again from the Congress platform. Emphasis was put on the fundamental importance of continuing the revolution under socialism.

In the foreign policy sphere the session approved the line pursued until then. This means that Peking will abide by Mao's guideline, which poses China against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and calls for closer relations and unity with imperialist countries.

What is new is that the national bourgeoisie is being brought into the effort to form the broadest possible united front. This must be the reason why the Congress was attended by a relatively large number of representatives of bourgeois parties and emigrés.

In narrower inner-political terms, the session reaffirmed the preser-

vation of the political status quo. Reports of new appointments indicate that the balance of forces established in the Chinese leadership is preserved. Hua Kuo-feng's re-election to the office of Premier of the State Council is a sign of his increasing role in the core of the party and government leadership. As for Teng Hsiao-ping, while he did not win the promotion in the national leadership predicted by most international observers, members of his group moved into important positions in the newly elected leading government bodies. His election to the post of Chairman of the Standing All-China Committee of the Political Consultative Council suggests that he is seen as a man who can unite not only old party and government cadres victimized during the "cultural revolution" but members of bourgeois parties and nationalist emigrés.

The most portentous change was, unquestionably, Marshal Yeh Chiang-ying's election to the office of Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, which in the present situation is tantamount to the office of head of state, as well as the appointment of Marshal Hsuh Hsiang-chiang to the post of Defense Minister vacated by Yeh.

The new Defense Minister is one of the four living marshals of the PRC and belongs to a different group. During the civil war he served in the army led by Chang Kuo-tao, a rival of Mao, who subsequently supplanted him. After this army had been disbanded Hsuh Hsiang-chiang held various key posts in the 129th Division along with Marshal Liu Po-cheng ("Fiery Dragon"). This division included many of today's high-ranking Chinese military men and politicians. Almost half of the military members of the CC CPC Political Bureau belong to it.

While the difference in age between Yeh and Hsuh is negligible, the latter is regarded as a member of the second generation. Yeh Chiang-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping and Liu Po-cheng are classed as members of the first generation — the "generation of elders." Hsuh Hsiang-chiang belongs to the second generation along with Li Hsiang-niang, Cheng Hsi-liang, Hsuh Shih-yu and others. The members of this group, known as the "Mahuang group," moved after Ling Piao's ouster into important positions both in the army and in the top leadership of the party.

The election of Hsuh Hsiang-chiang does not merely continue the tradition of electing a marshal to the post. It is also linked with the fact that he represents what was once the largest contingent of the Fourth Front. Although he was occasionally criticized during the

"cultural revolution" he retained on the whole his positions in that period. Like Yeh Chiang-ying, he was a deputy chairman of the Military Commission, and at the beginning of the "cultural revolution" he was, on Mao's proposal, appointed for a brief period leader of the group charged with carrying out the "cultural revolution" in the army.

Shortly afterwards this post was taken over by Hsiao Hua, one of Ling Piao's close associates, and subsequently by Mao's wife, Chiang Ching. However, Hsuh Hsiang-chiang escaped the fate of Marshal Ho Lung and Marshal Cheng Yi, who were severely criticized and were not rehabilitated until after their deaths. It would seem that Hsuh's moderate attitude earned him the reputation of a man loyal to the Mao regime during and after the "cultural revolution," and so on the 20th anniversary of the PRC in 1969 he sat on the platform with other leaders. He was not re-elected to the Political Bureau until the 11th CPC Congress. Previously he was Chairman of the National People's Congress.

Marshal Hsuh Hsiang-chiang is apparently more acceptable to Hua Kuo-feng than General Hsuh Shih-yu, commander of the Kwangchow military district, member of the CC CPC Political Bureau, or General Wei Kuo-ching, another Political Bureau member, head of the Chief Political Department of the Army, both of whom are strong supporters of Teng Hsiao-ping.

The new set-up is not monolithic, either. The present Chinese leadership is not homogeneous, and this circumstance came out again when government bodies were being constituted. It remains to be seen whether the Chinese leadership can maintain the present balance of forces or whether calls for unity will again develop into internal strife.

Abridged from *Trud* (Bulgaria), March 13, 1978

HOW TO SOLVE THE CRISIS?

The situation in Tunisia after the January 26 bloodshed continues to preoccupy international democratic opinion. Along with numerous victims of that Black Thursday, the arrests and prosecution involved hundreds of working people and intellectuals. Habib Achour and other leaders of the General Union of Tunisian Working People (UGTT) are still being held by the police, pending official indictment and court proceedings. "The Tunisian communists," a recent communiqué signed by leaders of the Tunisian Communist Party Mohamed Ennafaa, Mohamed Harmel and Abdelhamid Ben Mustapha stressed, "are convinced that the country's fundamental problems cannot be solved by repressive and authoritarian methods." One of the authors of this document, Mohamed Ennafaa, gave a *L'Humanité* correspondent the following interview:

Q. How do you assess the recent events in Tunisia?

A. On January 26, events took place in our country that have serious implications. They have caused grave concern among all Tunisians to whom the interests of their people are dear. For who can remain indifferent on seeing dozens of people killed and hundreds wounded? But a distinction should be drawn between the general strike, unanimously approved by the UGTT leadership, and the street incidents.

The demonstrations and the deplorable acts of violence were the result of uncontrollable outbursts, participated in primarily by the youth. When such explosions occur, the possibility of various excesses cannot be excluded. All the more so, as the trade union leaders were, in effect, barred from following the strike developments and from intervening to prevent actions that had nothing to do with the slogans of the trade union center.

As for the strike, the decision to hold it was not adopted without due consideration. Over a number of days, in an atmosphere of unremitting hostile propaganda, the UGTT was subjected to recurrent acts of violence. Its offices in Tozeur, Tunis, Sousse, Kairouan, Sfax, Zaghouan and elsewhere were attacked. The Central Committee of the Socialist Destour Party (SDP) issued a resolution denying the UGTT's right to autonomy. The UGTT was forced to resort to a general strike to defend its autonomous existence. The January 26 events could have been avoided had the reality of trade union

autonomy been recognized and had a stop been put to the acts of violence committed against this organization, its activists and offices. But this possibility was not considered.

Q. What led to such a situation?

Q. That is a long story. What happened was the result of a profound crisis which became apparent already several months ago, but its existence and its real causes were ignored.

The crisis originated, essentially, as a result of the economic and social policy whose consequences were particularly felt by the working people and popular masses. This policy consists in staking on the local and foreign capitalist enterprises in Tunisia's economic development. As a result, private entrepreneurs are granted enormous privileges. At the same time, wages remain at a low level and fulfillment of workers' demands is limited. Moreover, a slogan of "social peace" was proclaimed, with promises of equitable distribution of produced values in the interests of the working people.

But in reality, things turned out quite differently. The wage earners immediately noticed that the austerity regime was intended solely for them, while not affecting in the least the privileged strata's accumulation of wealth. After the wage increase at the beginning of 1977, and the widely publicized signing of the "social pact" prices began spiraling, with a consequent drop in purchasing power, and owing to various delays implementation of many provisions in the collective agreements was held up. All this led to the emergence of a strike movement, embracing ever broader strata. It is not by chance, therefore, that the crisis led to aggravation of the trade union center's differences with the government and the SDP leadership.

The crisis is also due to the authorities' refusal to steer a course toward democratization of public life. The few steps, which led to the legalization of the Human Rights League and the appearance of one opposition daily, were not followed by others. Beginning in 1963, that is, since the ban of the Communist Party, Tunisia has been living under a one-party regime.

But in this one party independent streams have long been in evidence. Students reject the student organization, which they no longer consider their own. The UGTT has officially declared its autonomy in relation to the ruling party.

The demand for democratization has become virtually universal. The experience gained by the popular masses and especially the workers and the youth, engenders in them a growing conviction that only full implementation of constitutional freedoms and rights will

enable them to express their point of view, to influence the developments and to express their will for changes. This highly positive phenomenon is the result of real changes in Tunisian society and points to the aspiration of the workers, the youth and the popular masses to actively participate in resolving problems, which in the end are their own problems.

As for the SDP Central Committee, it has arrived at quite a different conclusion, denying the reality of the crisis and the problems it stems from. Its basic thesis is the following: "There are no problems; there are only plots and plotters; all the evil comes from the communists and the Baathists, who have infiltrated the UGTT." Understandably, such a conclusion was bound to lead to a confrontation of forces and to an aggravation of the situation. Unfortunately, that is what happened.

Q. What are the solutions?

A. Of such solutions there are not thousands, but only two. One, and apparently the easiest, is to continue ignoring the changes in society and the emergence on this basis of real problems; to persist in attempts to subordinate the trade unions; to describe any opposition as subversive activity and respond with repressions, and finally, to maintain as a whole the status quo. This is an easy solution, requiring little thought, but that is not to say that it can be used with equal ease in new conditions. In any case, it will not yield positive results but rather will prolong and aggravate the crisis with all the ensuing consequences for the country and the people.

But there exists another solution, which can ease the situation and open the way for the country's normal development. It consists in giving a constructive answer to real problems, on the political and economic, as well as on the social plane. This requires recognition of and respect for the UGTT's independent existence, a stop to the persecution of its leaders. It implies adoption of urgent measures to improve the Tunisian economy and satisfy the working people's legitimate requirements. It also implies amnesty to political prisoners and release of detained trade union activists, full recognition of the right of all political streams to express their views and to set up their own organizations, in keeping with the Constitution, and, finally, launching a serious, democratic and constructive debate on the question of orientation and political development.

L'Humanité, February 21, 1978

IMPERIALIST PLOTTING IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Granma has received reports from reliable Ethiopian and Cuban sources and from servicemen and other participants in the military actions, on the basis of which it is possible — after the appropriate clearance — to re-establish in general outline the developments over a seven-week period — from the second half of January till now. These events led to a resounding victory of the Ethiopian revolutionary forces over the troops of the Somali aggressor, over the plans of imperialism and reaction to deal a mortal blow at the Ethiopian revolution.

At the outset of its aggression in July 1977, Somalia had 250 tanks, about 100 artillery pieces, 12 motorized brigades and more than 30 sophisticated fighter planes and bombers. A large part of this war material was used in the perfidious attack against the Ethiopian revolution. The attack was made with the full knowledge and agreement of the Western powers and the United States, who displayed an ill-concealed enthusiasm in connection with the events, hoping to see the approaching end of the Ethiopian revolution.

In developing the revolutionary process which removed the feudal oligarchy from power, the Ethiopian people, their armed forces and the leaders of state institutions and the army were at the time waging a struggle against the separatist movements in the north of the country, which received substantial material support from Arab reaction and numerous counter-revolutionary groups. Led by the feudals and with outside support, they were active in the entire territory.

The suddenness of the attack and the enormous amount of weaponry at their disposal enabled the Somali aggressors to seize in a few months a large part of the vast Ogaden region, the town of Jijiga — an important center near the mountain passes which, rising above the plateau to the west of the town, comprise together with it the most important strategic base in the region.

Of the vast territory which Somalia was out to seize by force, only the towns of Harar and Dire Dawa remained in Ethiopian hands. The first was surrounded by the enemy from the north, south and east, and advance Somali units had come right up to the latter, moving from the east and north-east of the railroad and the dirt road leading from Djibouti to Ethiopia. The Ethiopian troops fought off the Somali tank attacks against the town of Dire Dawa. By the end of 1977, however, the front line became exceedingly unfavorable for the Ethiopian rev-

olutionary forces. Encircled on three sides, the Harar region formed a large sack, stretching toward the south-east in the direction of Gorey, a settlement where numerous Ethiopian contingents were threatened with encirclement. The Somali command decided to deal a decisive blow here with the aim of closing up the front at this point and to encircle the Ethiopians in the sack in the Gorey region.

Over November 22 to 23 the Somalis dealt severe blows, advancing from the direction of Kembolcha and Fedis to the north and south of Harar. The Ethiopian soldiers, who are distinguished for their high personal courage, aided only by a few staunch artillery experts from a revolutionary country of the region, valiantly countered the Somali attacks against the city and prevented the encirclement of a large troop contingent.

The troops of the Somali aggressor — with the full and mounting support of the imperialism and employing the military hardware it supplied to Somalia through Iran, Saudi Arabia and other reactionary countries of the zone — decided to step up military activities in December and January in order to deal a decisive blow in the Harar region. At the same time, the separatists in the north — obviously in coordination with the Somali attack — intensified their military actions along the entire front. This led to a situation when only vigorous international support of the Ethiopian people's heroic struggle could save the country's independence, its territorial integrity and the Ethiopian revolution as a whole.

As is known, the USSR, true to its traditional policy of supporting peoples who fall victim to aggression and of revolutionary processes and national-liberation movements, from Vietnam to Angola, including many other countries, as for instance Cuba during her trying days — supplied Ethiopia with the necessary military equipment, instructors and experts. Cuba first sent to Ethiopia several hundred doctors and other medical personnel to provide medical aid to the Ethiopian people — one of the most backward in the world in this field — and also several dozen military experts and instructors to strengthen the country's defenses. However, in view of the critical situation resulting from the aggression which determined the decision of the Ethiopian government to appeal to our party for aid, Cuba decided to send its internationalist fighters there.

On January 22, after intensive preparations and concentration of their forces the Somali troops fiercely attacked the town of Harar in a pincers movement, dealing the main blow from the south with infantry brigades, artillery and tanks.

The Ethiopian revolutionary forces, with the support of the first contingent of Cuba's internationalist soldiers, bravely defended the town, stopping the enemy some 500 metres from the road linking Harar with Dire Dawa and over January 23 to 27 dealt a telling retaliatory blow in the direction of the main attack. They also won back tens of kilometres of territory, freeing Fedis and other settlements. Enemy losses amounted to about 3,000 men and more than 15 tanks (some of which were captured), many armored carriers, anti-aircraft guns and field artillery pieces, thousands of firearms and a large amount of ammunition. The attempt to seize Harar ended in the aggressor's total defeat. This was a turning point in the war.

Giving the enemy no respite, the Ethiopian revolutionary troops dealt blows from their base in Dire Dawa against the enemy who was threatening the town, advancing in the direction of the strongly fortified settlements of Harewa and Gildesa. Supported by planes, artillery and infantry units, they outflanked the enemy and recaptured both settlements. The enemy's losses here amounted to more than a thousand men.

On February 8 and 9, the Ethiopian revolutionary forces, developing the attack from Harar, Gildesa and other directions, recaptured the territory to the north-east of Harar. They also freed the settlements of Belewa, Anonomite, Felana, Terraces and others, destroying several tanks and seizing many big guns, including recoilless guns.

The frontline changed substantially. The towns of Harar and Dire Dawa were no longer threatened. The enemy suffered heavy losses in lives and equipment. But the mountain range, soaring up to 2,000 metres and stretching along the plateau between Harar and Jijiga was a formidable natural barrier. The enemy had entrenched himself in the Marda pass, the main and virtually sole approach to Jijiga. The Ethiopian revolutionary forces decided on a broad flanking operation in the direction of the settlement of Arabi leading to Shebele, another mountain pass some 50-60 kilometres north of Marda. Arabi was freed by Ethiopian troops on February 17. On February 20, it was once again seized by the enemy. Then on February 24 the Ethiopian revolutionary forces recaptured the town against fierce Somali resistance.

The enemy, expecting the main blow from the direction of the Shebele pass, concentrated all his efforts on defending it. Despite frantic efforts to stop them, the chief advance force of the Ethiopian troops mounted a swift attack and the 60th infantry brigade forced the mountain range at Lewenji and Golocha, situated between the

Shebele and Marda passes. The revolutionary Ethiopian troops turned south, then east and, continuing their advance over swamps and in a steady downpour, along dangerous gorges and mountain paths with tanks, artillery and motorized infantry, crossed the mountain range on February 28, avoiding the enemy-fortified Marda pass. On March 1, the Somali infantry, artillery and tank units stationed in Jijiga mounted a fierce counterattack designed to halt the advance of the powerful column of revolutionary troops. But they were beaten off with big enemy losses in men and 16 tanks. On March 2, the revolutionary Ethiopian forces extended and improved their positions. On March 3, they repulsed the counterattack of the Somali army, which again suffered big losses. On March 4, the revolutionary forces of Ethiopia continued their powerful advance and on March 5 penetrated deep into the enemy's defences near Jijiga. At the time, the 75th infantry brigade, continuing its advance to the south along the mountain range, seized the Marda pass and the 60th brigade freed Jijiga.

In the evening of March 4, the Somali troops deployed in Jijiga beat a hasty retreat to avoid encirclement and total destruction.

On March 6, the Ethiopian troops advancing rapidly liberated new territories from the enemy. Ogaden was liberated. In less than three days the column had advanced 200 kilometres, liberating Dagahabur on March 8. Another column advanced parallel with it, liberating Fik. The major towns and centers of the territory were liberated. The Somali troops fled in panic, fearing encirclement. Then they abandoned Ethiopian territory.

On March 11, the important communications center Kebri Dehar, Danan and Filtu were liberated. By that time the entire territory of Ethiopia had been freed, that is, 320,000 square kilometres. The enemy retreated in disorder, leaving behind tanks, artillery, firearms and ammunition in large amounts.

Since January 22, the selfless and courageous Cuban pilots, tankmen and artillerymen began fighting together with the Ethiopian revolutionary forces. At the final stage, motorized infantry battalions, including the fearless Cuban internationalist fighters, took part in crossing the mountain range, repulsing the enemy's fierce counterattacks, and in the decisive operation near Jijiga and the ensuing irresistible advance.

Despite the attempts of imperialism — a shameless accomplice in this aggression — to bamboozle public opinion, distort the facts and to portray the Somali government's proposal to withdraw its troops

as a goodwill gesture, it can deceive no one. The reactionary pro-imperialist aggressors were totally defeated. The Somalis had no choice but to leave Ogaden. They lost the bulk of their tanks and artillery. And the disorderly retreat of the remnants of their army to avoid encirclement and imprisonment cannot be seen as a voluntary withdrawal from Ethiopian territory. A defeat cannot be turned into an object of bargaining.

Ethiopia has guaranteed that it will not cross the Somali border. We see this as just and correct. But this implies that the Somali side will never again mount aggressive actions against Ethiopia. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States did not make such concessions to the aggressor.

Somalia, with imperialist support, seized one-third of Ethiopia's territory with the aim of suppressing the revolution, which freed more than 30 million oppressed Africans. This was met with concern by all African countries which, despite their deep national and ethnic differences, realize that the main thing is the integrity of boundaries established in the process of liberation from colonial dependence.

This foul imperialist attempt to dismember the country and crush the Ethiopian people resembles more than anything else the barbaric fascist attack against that country in 1935.

On defeating the chauvinist, expansionist, aggressive, adventurist war-like faction in the Somali government, which together with Arab reaction and imperialism launched this criminal, dirty, opportunistic war against the Ethiopian revolution, the Somali people should have an opportunity to live in peace and develop along the road of progress and socialism. The Somali soldiers were no cowards. They demonstrated firmness and combat readiness. It is painful to note that their leaders criminally led them into this absurd, unjust and shameful war.

Imperialism is now sparing nothing to save its reactionary allies in the Somali government and to crush the progressive forces. The maneuver is obvious, its aims are shameless. But history teaches us that the peoples cannot for long be driven like cattle, they cannot be deceived all of the time.

We are not living in the times of Mussolini when he, with the complicity of the colonial powers, dismembered Ethiopia, nor in that sad period when the European states at will seized African countries. The future belongs to the peoples, their independence, their progress and their profound fraternity — internationalism.

Granma, March 14, 1978

